2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Franciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

Birth, Marriage, and Death

mitted it because of the frightful blood-feuds caused by fights over women who fled back to their own families or went off with other men. Parents, having once betrothed a daughter in the cradle to a youth also in the cradle, dared not refuse to carry out the bargain when the time came, even if they knew the boy infant had grown up into a bad lot. The marriage was accomplished, and the daughter encouraged to come home if she could not stand it. M 586

If no signs of pregnancy soon occurred a man demanded divorce. Till Vladika Petar's time a woman could not sue for divorce; but by flying home and refusing cohabitation she could drive her husband to do so. The old formula was that a council of elders, at which the pope presided, having been called, the wrongs of the husband were declared and discussed. If the elders decided in his favour, a cup of wine was offered to the wife's male relatives, who drank of it and offered it to the husband, who refused to drink with them. The pope then gave one corner of the wife's apron to her father, and the other corner to the husband's father. He then drew a cord between them and declared them separated. Thus the parents who made the marriage also unmade it. M 586 842 623

Vladika Petar I (1796) decreed that "He who takes a woman whose husband is living or a girl not given to him by her parents or guardians, according to the rites of religion, shall be expelled from our territory and his goods confiscated." M 683 684

12. "A pope who marries a man and woman when the woman has a living husband, or marries a girl forcibly captured, or a woman not permitted by religion to marry, shall be expelled both from the priesthood and from our land." M [688 585]

He permitted women to sue for divorce and instituted a fine of fifty thalars, which the man who had divorced his wife had to pay to her father. If the woman asked and gained the divorce, her father had to pay fifty thalars to the husband. M 586

If there were any children, the elders usually did not grant a divorce. In case of the wife's adultery the husband obtained divorce at once and paid no damages. He could, if he pleased, cut off his wife's nose, and not infrequently did so.

ALBANIA

Among the Catholics, as elsewhere, there was no divorce. Such was the severity of the local priesthood that few persons were aware that it was possible to get a marriage annulled. A 586 ●

An unlucky young Scutarene was told by his parents that they had arranged for him to marry a certain girl. He had already said he wished to marry her, for he had known her as a child. During the A 584

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

584 betrothal, as was customary, they were not allowed to meet, and the unfortunate man did not know till the veil was lifted in church that they had betrothed him to the girl's elder sister. He at once said, "I refuse to take her." The assembled relatives hushed him up and said he must not make a disturbance in church. He, thinking his protest was sufficient, allowed the service to finish. So soon as it was over he repudiated the girl, and said if she was taken to his home he should not return there. Nor did he. His parents kept her some time and then sent her to her own home. He returned then; but left when they again [585] sent her round. The affair was some two or three years old. All parties were greatly concerned. But I could not make them believe that Rome, if properly applied to, would certainly declare this to be no marriage.

Among the Moslems the usual form of Mohammedan divorce prevailed.

7. Marriage of an Outsider into a Tribe

MONTENEGRO

586 *Outsider into the Tribe.*—There was one exception to the rule which forbade any man—an outsider—to become a member of a tribe. If a man had no sons and one or more daughters he could, with the consent of his bratstvo and tribe, import a son-in-law instead of exporting all his daughters.

This man then lived as son of the house and took the place of a son. He lost all rights in his former tribe and was a member of that which he had married into. He dropped his own family name and took that of Domazet ("dom," the house; "zet," son-in-law). His sons were Domazetovitch, a name which can still be found in Montenegro and, I believe, in Bosnia.

But the introduction of a man of another tribe was so much disliked that in marriages of this kind the domazet was, as a rule, chosen if possible from another group within the tribe that was not related by blood. Such groups existed in most of the larger tribes (*v.* Tribes).

FORBIDDEN DEGREES

In Montenegro, though the ancient strict rule of exogamy no longer held good as regards tribes according to law, yet in practice there was still a tendency to marry outside the tribe or into a quite distant group of it.

The laws of the Orthodox Church on forbidden degrees were given me by Pope Gjuro as follows:—

[P-215-242 blank]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Albanians, who follow in this respect the customs of the Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, her brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach. In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

"That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her.

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party.

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole *complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed.*

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard.

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange

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new *kulla*[1] If the man has many sons, the youngest may not get a new wife, but have to content himself with a widow, who is cheaper. Also it may take some time to find a fiancée for each boy, and many young men wait until quite late in life for marriage.

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The principal reason for this delay, aside from the price, is the peculiar birth and death rate figures for Ghegnia. Many more boys than girls are born. In some regions the boys outnumber the girls almost two to one (see table 1)[2] However, as soon as a boy is big enough to carry a gun he may begin feuding, and stands a good chance of being killed. Then his marriage arrangements may be transferred to his brother, or cousin, and hence the young lady may marry someone quite different from her expectation.

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The alert and provident father, ever on the lookout for daughters-in-law, may place a substantial part of his bride price on a baby girl, as soon as she is born. Or he may gamble on the sex of an unborn child. The baby girl may find herself, at the age of 14, married to a man of 40. Once she has been handed over to her new husband and the folk-rites performed, she is still on trial, and may be sent home if she fails to produce offspring within a reasonable time. Among the Catholics the church wedding is often delayed until after the birth of the first child. In this way the bride can be returned if found wanting, and the rule of Christian monogamy will not have been technically violated. Among the Moslems, where both polygyny and divorce are officially permitted, these subterfuges are not needed.

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While the Gheg system of selecting mates may be well attuned to the exigencies of the environment, the economics, and the political life of the mountaineers, it permits little opportunity for personal adjustment between the husband and wife. Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*) summed this up when he said to me, gloomily, in the presence of his wife, "There is only one woman a man can trust—his mother." In the cases where cross-cousin marriage works out ideally, the boy and girl may have met before betrothal, or at least before marriage. The boy's mother, on a visit to her own kin, may take her youthful son with her, and he will have a chance to play with his

[1] [See footnote, cat. 116, p. 23 c -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, p. 23b -- Analyst]

[3] [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61

XI

S A 184 586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry [587] the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A 58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands S 587 563 with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Saban Lepi, living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen